power of the Federal government in some directions, as it may also become necessary to restrict it in others, but always, and at all times, and under all circumstances, the constitution must stand as the ark of the covenant. I know of but one lawful way of changing the constitution, and that is the way pointed out in the constitution itself. Whenever out in the constitution itself. an assault is made upon the constitution, or a serious and threatening pro-posal advanced to change the constitutional form of the government or the constitutional method of administering it, the people should be aroused to resist it. In this campaign the republicans put forward a candidate for the presidency, the crown prince of the Roosevelt regime, who is committed and pledged to all the things Roosevelt espouses. the hysterical fads of Roosevelt, his advocacy of the right and policy of the Federal government to grasp, through executive action and judicial construction, powers belonging to the states the people, then they should wave banners and shout hosannas to Taft; but if the otherwise, then they should set their faces strongly against these threatened encroachments. At all events, I beg the democrats of Missouri and Clamorous demands have been made from every quarter for a revision; and delamorous demands have been made from every quarter for a revision; and to close the door against foreign competition in American markets, and to give the democrats of Missouri and Missour their faces strengly against these threatened encroachments. At all events, I beg to American producers a monopoly in supplying home consumption. This policy has been carried to an extreme in this stalwart defense of our dual govern-

In the address of Secretary Root, from which I have quoted, he speaks of vesting power in the national government binations which mercilessly plunder by "construction." "Construction" of people. The tariff, more than anything what? The constitution, of course. Does he mean that the rules of constitutional he mean that the rules of constitutional of those great industrial trusts so universally condemned which the rules of constitutional of those great industrial trusts so universally condemned which the rules of th construction are to be changed as exiconstruction are to be changed as exigencies may require to serve the purposes of the executive department? What other meaning can possibly be given to his utterance? But that, in turn, signifies that the Supreme Court is to be packed by presidents who seek to advance these ends. In the speech of Senator Dryden, from which I have also appears this significant deliver-

What kind of justices of the Supreme

stitutions. But if once the policy is enof that high court with a view to altering in any way our form of government by far-fetched and strained constructions of the constitution, I would soon lose all respect for it, as you would. Put all these things together, and they could be multiplied ad nauseum, and answer if you do not see here a tendency which common sense and patriotism alike demand should be peremptor

ily checked. FEDERAL INJUNCTIONS.

apropos of it, I will say a word about the abuse of judicial process by some of the Federal tribunals. As a rule, I believe that judges of the inferior courts of the United States are men of liberal to say in general terms, that the difference in prices between the home and they discharge their duties with a conscientious regard to both public and private right. But undoubtedly some of private right But undoubtedly some of private right. But undoubtedly some of the present tariff, while admitting the cheaper price abroad for

rate, the judge said to the counsel: to some consideration, and I will not time and see if it confiscates your property, as you say."

Those were wise words, wisely spoken. It was a correct rule Judge McPherson enunciated, although I am told it is a rule he more often honors in the breach than the observance. What is the remedy? One thing at least should be done—we should return to the old law and provide for notice and a hearing before an injunction can issue. By the act of 1791 it was provided that notice should be given by Federal indees before the issue. given by Federal judges before the issuance of a temporary restraining order or injunction. That remained the law of the land for seventy-nine years. In 1872 the provision requiring notice before the better opportunities to expand their the provision requiring notice before the ssuing of an injunction was dropped from the statute, inadvertently as some claim, designedly as others claim. The rule requiring notice worked satisfactorily for more than three quarters of a century. It is a right rule and ought to to the statutes. Thousands of men, both republicans and democrats, among them many eminent officials of the states, have been demanding the re-storation of this rule, but somehow and in some way there has always been a powerful, insinuating influence creeping around the halls of Congress and about around the halls of Congress and about the precincts of the White House potent lenough to block all legislation on the subject. In the current Republican Taft

platform I find this declaration: no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice. except where irreparable injury would

does no more than declare for the law as it is. For years these senators and representatives have sat in Congress, with a great party majority in both houses around them, and although many state legislatures, governors, and great organizations memorialized them to enact legislation upon this line, they have resolutely persisted in doing nothing. Do you think that the election of Taft and enother Remultican Congress would institute the system by saving that under the conditions, and so the Dingley act, has been in force for more than a decade. It is the most excessive tariff law the country has ever known. Its rates of duty are so exorbitant as to make them for the most part practically prohibitory. The present law, known as the Dingley act, has been in force for more than a decade. It is the most excessive tariff law the country has ever known. Its rates of duty are so exorbitant as to make them for the most part practically prohibitory. The present law, known as the Dingley act, has been in force for more than a decade. It is the most excessive tariff law the country has ever known. Its rates of duty are so exorbitant as to make them for the most part practically prohibitory. The present law, known as the Dingley act, has been in force for more than a decade. It is the most excessive tariff law the country has ever known. Its rates of duty. The present law, known as the Dingley act, has been in force for more than a decade. It is the most excessive tariff law the country has ever known. Its rates of duty are so exorbitant as to make them for the most excessive tariff law the country has ever known. Its rates of duty. The present law, known as the Dingley act, has been in force for more than a decade. It is the most excessive tariff law the country has ever known. Its rates of duty are so exorbitant as to make them for the most excessive tariff law the country has ever known.

necessary to the maintenance of orderly fully, not because of an excessive tariff, government. I have never been able to superinducing unnatural trade condiconceive of any just theory upon which taxation could be levied, except to produce a revenue to support the government. It is axiomatic to say that there should be equality in the burdens of taxation. The tariff, under our law, is a tax laid upon imports from foreign countries into the United States for consumption here. The tax is paid by the important in the first instance and is then aporter in the first instance, and is then the purchaser who buys the article for consumption pays the tax. In other consumption pays the tax. In other words, the tariff is merely indirect taxation. I have said that the controlling principle of just taxation should be to raise a needed revenue for public pur-noses, and so levied as to cast the burposes, and so levied as to cast the burden with the greatest possible equality from the statute books.

upon all. If incidentally the tax produced in the statute books. tects domestic production against outside competition, as of course it always does to the extent of the tax, it is country. To such an extreme, has it been carried, and so long continued, that it has become an intolera-ble abuse, fostering great business com-

ator Dryden, from which I have also that all the fabulous fortunes possessed quoted, appears this significant deliver-"In the next presidential term four justices of the United States Supreme Court will have a right to retire, and it is of the greatest importance to it is of the greatest importance to the court will have a right kind of a effort, and hence the concentration of industrial the country that the right kind of a effort, and hence the concentration also the country that the right their suc- of the nation's wealth. More than that, president should nominate their suc- it enables the producer to levy unconscionable extortion upon the consumer. It is a known fact, not denied, that the Court does this multi-millionaire president of the Prudential Life Insurance are sold cheaper in foreign manufactures dent of the Prudential Life Insurance Company want appointed?

My fellow citizens, I have a profound respect for the Supreme Court of the United States. It is the most exalted judicial tribunal of the world, and though on rare occasions some of its justices have apparently yielded to the justices have apparently yielded to the justices have apparently yielded to the justices of political influence, as a whole it vice of political influence, as a whole it has undoubtedly stood as a bulwark in has undoubtedly stood as a bulwark in has undoubtedly stood as a bullward and St. Louis, steel products from Pitts-defense of liberty and our national in-defense of liberty and our national in-burg, watches from New England, hartered upon of presidents appointing justices vesters from the middle west, shoes from St. Louis and Boston, and numerous other products from many states were found to have a market price in foreign communities far below the price at which they were sold at home. Recently Mr. George Spencer of Treadwell Broth ers, a large shoe distributing house in London, stated that he had seen the London, stated that he had seen the identical American shoe which was being sold in London at \$3.87 marketed at \$5.00 in New York stores. With ready acumen he observed that if there was a profit on the price in London, then the profit in America is so enormous that it serves

explain why millionaires are as plentiful in America as blackberries in England. Illustrations showing like discrim inations in numerous articles could be multiplied, but mere additions would e that judges of the inferior courts of United States are men of liberal to say in general terms, that the differbetween the home and party.

join the enforcement of the Missouri is attracted by the profit he obtains. He statute establishing a two-cent passenger sells cheaper in the foreign market only tute establishing a two-cent passenger te, the judge said to the counsel:

"Gentlemen, the solemn enactments of the State of Missouri are entitled to some consideration, and I will not to some consideration, and I will not the state of the enjoin the enforcement of this state law, restraining the officers of the sovereign State of Missouri. I will allow it to be in operation for sometime and see if it confiscates your sumers higher prices than they can obtain abroad in the face of competition; hence they have two scales of prices—a high one for the home market, and a lower one for the foreign market. My fellow-citizens, I do not believe this to be

who still survive the trusts and who business and exploit the commerce of other countries. There are materials produced abroad which they need in the conduct of their business, and the enormous tariff laid upon their importations handicaps them with unnecessary burdens and hardships. It clips their wings and holds them in restraint. These men also look with apprehension upon the growing hostility, more and more manifest in foreign countries, toward American productions because of the exclusion of foreign merchants and manu-facturers from our markets. They want "We believe that the rules of procedure in the Federal courts, with respect to the issuance of the writ of injunction, should be more accurately defined by statute, and that crastination, not in the interest of trusts and monopolies, but solely in the public interest. Monopolistic trust-made goods should be made to face the competition

of the world.

When, under republican auspices, can result from delay, in which case a the country reasonably expect a tariff revision? And what kind? Since the granted." Many eminent republican senators and representatives, including my distinguished colleague, were members of the committee which framed that platform. The enunciation is meaningless, as it does no more than declare for the law menting rates of duty. The present law, the beautiful war the tariff schedules have been several times resulted by the committee which framed that platform. The enunciation is meaningless, as it does no more than declare for the law menting rates of duty. The present law, the control war the tariff schedules have been several times resulted by the control war the tariff schedules have been several times resulted by the control war the tariff schedules have been several times resulted by the control was a standard by the control was th

superinducing unnatural trade condi-tions, but in spite of it. The evil incident to the concentration of industrial enterprise and of the nation's wealth in a few hands, and the corresponding and resultant evil of industrial monopoly monopoly of competition and the enforced surrender to the trusts of weaker rivals, are things easily traceable to our tariff laws. These laws ought to be radically revised in the interest of common justice, common honesty and a square deal. The revision of course should be made wisely, carefully and conservative-ly so as to do justice alike to manufacturers, wage-earners and consumers. The rights of all should be conserved as far as possible, but laws which operate as a shield to monopoly must be wiped from the statute books.

Again I ask, when can the country easonably expect a reasonable revision under republican auspices? In fact, can it ever be expected? For twelve years of the west. But year after year, and Congress after Congress, these demands have been ignored. Men like Cannon, Payne, Dalzell and other leaders of the House, and men like Aldrich, Gallinger, Lodge and other leaders of the Senate, have turned a deaf ear to all appeals. here have been republican representatives in both houses from the middle states, who, knowing the sentiment of their constituencies, have urged a revis-ion upon their party colleagues, but to no avail. Not long ago, the Globeion upon their party colleagues, but to no avail. Not long ago, the Globe-Democrat, one of Speaker Cannon's most admiring friends, whose Washington correspondent had interviewed the Speaker on the subject, declared that:

"The speaker gives no encouragement to tariff revision agitation. Neither does he assent to a suggestion put forward recently that the long transported for limited again, recently under the British flag. Again, recently unde

next Congress commit itself to future revision by resolution.'

America

we have insular possessions in both the

great oceans; we have enormous trade relations with both the Occident and the

Orient, and therefore every reason exists why this should be the leading mari-

American shipping, and all such things, have been abandoned. Long ago we in-

augurated the scheme, which has be-come the controlling principle of our maritime policy, of forbidding American registry or the right to fly the American flag to any ship.

flag to any ship not constructed in an American shipyard. An American com-

pany may buy and own a vessel of for-eign make, but it cannot be brought under the protection of the American flag. There are numerous instances of ships owned by American citizens which

fly foreign flags and sail under foreign registry. Last summer I rode across the China Sea in an English-built ship own-

ed by the Pacific Mail Steamship Com-pany, an American corporation, which

was under the command of English offi-cers and bore the British flag at her masthead. This was done because our navigation laws forbade the use of the

American flag. Few American ships are built for the foreign trade, and but few are engaged in it. This is due to two principal causes: First, the cost of con-

structing any kind of merchant vessel in an American shipyard is approximately one-third greater than the cost of con-structing it in European shipyards, and,

secondly, the cost of operating an American ship is also approximately one-third more than the cost of operating a foreign ship of similar class. These items of larger expense have made it impossible

for American ship owners to compete with foreign ship owners for the trade of the world. The American cannot af-

which can be duplicated by his foreign competitor for approximately \$700,000, and, in addition, pay about one-third more in the way of expense for running

Japan and China. A large majority of the Republican members of both houses of Congress favor this policy of subsi-

dies, but there is a minority of that

party, which so far has been sufficiently

strong, acting in conjunction with the Democrats, to prevent its adoption. This shows that the Republican party, which

has succeeded in destroying our mer-chant marine, is incapable of developing

a policy for its restoration. The Kansas City Journal, in the caustic criticism to which I have alluded, charged, that while I complained of the deterioration of

our maritime interests, I constantly

I do not wish to give subsidies as pres-

ents, as mere gratuities, to shipbuilders or ship owners. If the public revenues are to be employed in this way, I must be reasonably sure of a substantial re-

turn, and that the public interest will be promoted. As long as the present navigation laws remain. I do not believe that subsidies will suffice to restore our maritime prestige or to rehabilitate our

marine, unless the subsidies

That is a fair statement of Mr. Can-ton's well-known attitude. If the next nouse should be republican, Cannon will be the speaker again. He would again name the committees, organize the house and conduct its business by the same arbitrary methods which have distin-guished him in the past. Congressman Dalzell of Pittsburg, one of the ablest members of the House, and Mr. Cannon's chief lieutenant, recently declared in substance against tariff agitation as the height of folly, and proceeded to say that if a revision should be had at all the work would be done by the say that if a revision should be had at all the work would be done by those who believed in protective policies and along protective lines, and added that the revision would more likely be upward than downward. I could quote perhaps a hundred similar expressions from almost as many men potent in republican councils. With such influences dominant in the House, and like influences dominant in the Senate, what sort of gray matter has a tariff revisionist in his head who votes the republican ticket in the hope that these men have in some mysterious way become inoculated with the spirit of reform? Of course, I am conscious that even with a democratic president and house of representatives, any tariff act possible of passage would, because of the republican senate, be in the nature of a compromise. But one thing is sure, if the presidency and the House should be given to the Democrats, a tariff bill, drawn with the greatest possible care and framed on just lines, would be sent to the Senate, and public sentiment would compel some measure of public relief. The only hope of an honest tariff revision is through the Democratic

THE MERCHANT MARINE.

Not long since the Kansas City Journal ally after a fashion that does no credit to the judiciary. They are too often autoratic and tyrannical, and, what is worse, sometimes also apparently subservient. The abuse by some of these judges of the writ of injunction has bejudges of the writ of injunction has bejudges of the subject of almost universal come the subject of almost universal complete. It is said that Secretary words, the abuse by some of these judges of the writ of injunction has befugges of the writ of injunction has befugges of the writ of almost universal come the subject of almost universal come if all the subject of the subject the highest moment because of its great of the world. The American cannot af-value as a commercial instrumentality. ford to pay a million dollars for a vessel but he also regarded it as of the greatest consequence in times of war, for in times of war merchant vessels may not only be used for purposes of military transportation, but many may be converted into fast auxiliary cruisers. Under the wise guidance of Mr. Jefferson and those who followed him in the presidency. the American merchant marine grew apace until the young republic became the rival of Great Britain, then, as now, the leading maritime power of the world. These are historical facts, known of all men, which none will dispute. Under democratic policies, which prevailed anterior to the civil work the residency, this situation as any of us, and they have been long struggling to devise some remedy for it; but they are hopelessly hampered by their environments. Ship-yard corporations, opulent and powerful, rise in the pathway to selfishly obstruct them in every effort at intelligent ress. The Republic These are historical facts, known of all men, which none will dispute. Under democratic policies, which prevailed anterior to the civil war, the merchant marine grew steadily until it ranked as one of the first in the world. Under Republican policies, which have prevailed since that war, the merchant marine has deterioriated and wasted until now it remains as little more than a memory. In mains as little more than a memory in mains as little more than a memory. In mains as little more than a memory. In mains as little more than a memory in mains as little more than a memory. In mains as little more than a memory in mains as little more than a memory. In mains as little more than a memory in memory in merchant marine by the payment of subsidies out of the national treasury. During the last session of Congress a memory in merchant marine by the payment of subsidies out of the national treasury. During the last session of Congress a memory in merchant marine by the payment of subsidies out of the national treasury. During the last session of congress a memory in merchant marine by the payment of subsidies out of the national treasury. During the last session of congress a merchant marine by the payment of subsidies out of the national treasury. During the last session of congress a merchant marine by the payment of subsidies out of the national treasury. During the last session of congress a bill passed the Senate appropriating \$3. that war, the merchant marine has deterioriated and wasted until now it remains as little more than a memory. In these simple statements of undisputed fact, two pictures are presented which any American with eyes and the conscious power of observation may look upon. Even my caustic friend, the editor of the Kansas City Journal, can see them without the aid of spectacles.

True we have a passably good merchant fleet engaged in the coastwise trade. This fleet is made up of vessels employed in carrying cargoes and passengers along the coast or across the sengers along the coast or across the lakes from one American port to an-other. I do not underestimate its value, although local in its operations. I recognize its importance and shall always rejoice in its prosperity. But is it any wonder that we have a fairly creditable coastwise service? Under the law vessels engaged in that traffic have an absolute memorally. Only vessels owned and solute monopoly. Only vessels owned and built in America can obtain American registry or fly the flag, and none other can convey passengers or freight from one port to another. The situation in Hawaii furnishes a striking example of the scope of this monopoly. Under the law as it stands, no person can go in a foreign vessel to or from Honolulu or any port of the Islands to San Francisco or any port of the mainland without first or any port of the mainland without first paying a penalty to the government of \$200. The Hawaiian Islands are Ameri-\$200. The Hawaiian Islands are American territory, and ports established there are American ports. All American ports, whether of the islands or mainland, are under the operation of the coastwise laws, and foreign vessels are forbidden, under heavy penalties, to carry passengers or freight between such ports. It often happens that passage can not be obtained between San Francisco and Honolulu on an American vessel for weeks at a time. Last summer Senator Piles of Washington, Secretary Strauss, and others, were in the Hawaiian Islands on a semi-official visit, It became necessary for the Secretary and one or two other members of the party to return resolutely persisted in doing nothing. Its evil effects, for which they make all kinds of sophistical explanations, and another Republican Congress would infuse a different and better spirit among them? Or do you suspect that this platform declaration is put forth to fool the people and allay the antagon-

of the mainland. I can see some reason for the law under which this coastwise monopoly has been created and fostered. It is not altogether good, for the policy is sometimes carried to a foolish exdred fold. But beyond that, as a national proposition, the value of a great merchant marine can hardly be estimated. Aside from its enormous value as a commercial agency, it would afford a wide field for the investment of capital and treme, as in the case of the Hawaiian Islands, but it at least has the merit of partial success to commend it. But the coastwise trade and foreign trade are two the employment of labor. The shipyards would not suffer, but, on the contrary, Islands, but it at least has the merit of partial success to commend it. But the coastwise trade and foreign trade are two wholly different things, and what has me would not suffer, but, on the contrary, not down. During this generation no down. During this generation no function wholly different things, and what has been destructive to the other. It has been long demonstrated that the same or similar rules are inapplicable to both. We can grant a monopoly of our own waters and ports, but we cannot monopolize the high seas or the ports of the world. A coastwise fleet is valuable, but as compared with a merchant marine engaged in the commerce of the world, it is, from a broad, national standpoint, of minor importance. When we turn from the coast and lakes to view the wide oceans rolling from continent to continent, it is rare thing to see an American ent, it is rare thing to see the American flag at the masthead of an American merchant man in a foreign port. The magnificent man in a foreign sand less than ten per cent of our foreign sand less than ten per cent of our foreign sand less than ten per cent of our foreign sand less than ten per cent of our foreign sand less than ten per cent of our foreign sand less than ten per cent of our foreign sand less than the per cent of our foreign sand less than the per cent of our foreign sand less than the per cent of our foreign trade are two would not suffer, but, on the contrary, not the chief beneficiaries of a more then the chief beneficiaries of a more than the chief beneficiaries of a more than the chief beneficiaries of a more than the period of the Orient, they have they have the policy of free ships, supplemented with subsidies. I visited some of the supplemented with subsidies. I visited some of the policy free ships, supplemented with subsidies. I visited some of the policy free ships, supplemented with supplemented with subsidies. I visited som the high seas has disappeared. Our for-eign mails are carried in foreign ships, and less than ten per cent of our foreign about subsidies as a part of our mari-time program, and not before. We cannot commerce, enormous as it is, is carried in American bottoms. Some impressive facts have recently occurred which illustrate how low we have fallen as a maritime power. A year ago the government had occasion to send troops to Cuba. No American ship could be found the world was a convey them and its incapacity to reconstruct. In Democratic days we had a great merchant marine; in Republican days we have seen it waste away. If the people the convey them are the recent in a second treatment of the program, and not before. We cannot therefore, we cannot the program, and not before. We cannot the program and the program and program a to convey them, and the world was treated to the ludicrous and humiliating spectacle of seeing American soldiers, in the uniform of the American army, being transported for immediate military duty under the British flag. Again, recently a great fleet of war ships was marshalled care to revive this great interest in a large way and on intelligent lines, and make it once more a mighty force in commercial development and in the augmentation of national prestige, the work must be again committed to Democratic hands.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.

to regulation by law. a wrong. Asking justice of the public, they must do justice to the public. have thousands of miles of seaboard on Proceeding on this line, the Senator the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Gulf; said: have enormous trade

Therefore. I believe in the supervision and regulation of railroads by public authority. Whenever the managers of rail-Drient, and therefore the leading ists why this should be the leading ists why this should be the leading it is their duty to deal, imparting it is their duty to deal, impart lican party has not been so much to out prejudice, the time will be at hand create a merchant marine and put ships for amicable and kindly relations beon the sea, as to establish and secure a prosperous monopoly for a few shipyards Absolute justice should be the universal prosperous monopoly for a few shipyards on the Atlantic seaboard. The policy of free ships, and even the narrower policy of a discriminating taxiff to anomaly the roads, and the roads must deal fairly by the roads. people. If a company undertakes to increase its stocks or debts for speculative purposes, intending to exact profits on fictitious values, or undertakes by discriminations to build up one person, industry or locality to the detriment of another, or undertakes to do any wrong it to the public injury, it is the duty of the public authority, under the power to regulate, to step in and stop it. I believe that the power of regulation, when properly applied, is ample to control the railroads and to adjust all differences in between them and the people. I have between them and the people. I have never been favorably impressed with the idea of government ownership. I fear that the evils of ownership would greater than the evils we would attempt by that policy to cure. I believe if ade-quate laws regulating railroads should be enacted and rigidly enforced, practi-cally all the greater evils of which the country complains could be eradicated. If I should be mistaken as to that, and if after the country has tested regula-tion to the limit, and it should fall, then it will be time to discuss the question of government ownership. There is no need to do that new. It is not a question of immediate concern, and hence it has not been made the subject of a platform reference. No one proposes to undertake public ownership now. Those who believe that policy practicable or advisable, speak of it

practicable or advisable, speak of it only in a tentative way, as a possible and ultimate solution of the problem of transportation. No harm can result from discussing and developing the idea, for in time the country may conclude to try it, and it is the part of wisdom that every phase of this complicated subject should be elaborated. But now the discussion is of necessity more academic than practical, and hence I do demic than practical, and hence I do not care to enter upon it at length. In passing, however, I will say a word concerning the criticisms that have been made of Mr. Bryan for what he has said upon that subject. He is apprehensive that the regulation of railroads and railroad traffic will fail in the future as it has in the past, and he has expressed the belief that public ownership will be finally resorted to as a more effective remedy; and he does not look with that dread that others do upon the policy of government ownership. He believes a plan can be worked out to so divide ownership and responsibility between the states and the general government as to largely obviate the objections usually made to the proposition. But, highly as I esteem Mr. Bryan and his opinions, I cannot but doubt both the wisdom and feasibility of the project. Still, he has said nothing, done nothing, to invite, much less to merit, the harsh partisan criticisms showered upon him. He has simply acted the part of a statesman, as he always does in fearless manner, by discussing a great question of paramount importance for the enlightenment of the people. He does not expect nor even desire that the public ownership of railroads should be taken up as a question for immediate action. He knows if it ever comes, it will be years away, and he says himself that for the present he favors exhausting the power of the government in regulating the roads before attempting the more drastic remedy of our maritime interests, I constantly voted against every proposition intended for their betterment. The criticism was unjust. I did oppose the subsidy proposition, as many Republicans did, because under the circumstances, I believed it would be a wasteful expenditure resulting in no substantial benefit. The term "subsidy" in itself does not affright me. England, France, Germany, Japan and all the maritime powers give subsidies out of their public treasuries to their merchants marine. Jefferson was not opposed to subsidies, nor would I be under proper conditions and circumstances, but I do not wish to give subsidies as presownership; and he says if regulation can be made successful, there will be no need of considering the question of ownership. What is there about that to cause his enemies to cock their ears and sound a loud alarum? They talk as if they had never heard of government ownership before. It is not a new question, but an old one. Jeremiah Black, the great Pennsylvania Democrat. disthe great Pennsylvania Democrat, discussed it favorably and with signal ability twenty-five years ago, and Thomas H. Benton discussed it fifty years ago, when he made his memorable fight in Congress for a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific, to be constructed, owned and operated by the national government. It was talked about tional government. It was talked about and written about before Mr. Bryan was born, and it has been experimented with

Senator Stone next discussed the regulation of railroads. In dealing with railroads and the question of transportation, he said that absolute justice to both the corporations and the public should be the guiding rule. Railroads, and the people in Central and South viewed with wonder the whitehe declared, were not only essential to the business world, but had been a mighty force in the up-building of great painted leviathans, with ponderous armaments, as they sailed along their shores or rested in their harbors. But another fleet accompanied this aggregation of men-of-war, following in its wake and states, and he believed they ought not to be dealt with in a narrow spirit or with prejudice, but should be dealt with men-oi-war, following in its wake and constituting a part of its equipment. This other fleet was composed of merchant vessels, carrying coal and supplies for the battleships. These colliers and supply ships were not American vessels, but foreign vessels, floating a foreign flag. in a broad and generous way. He de-clared that men who invested large sums in building and equipping railways, and men who devoted their talents and energies to the arduous task of operating them, were entitled to fair returns for the money and labor expended. On the other hand, he said, railroad cor-It was a strange spectacle the world beheld, that of the most powerful nation on the globe sending the most powerful war fleet ever assembled nearly halfporations are quasi-public bodies clothed with special privileges, and are organized not solely as a source of profit around the earth accompanied by supply ships flying a foreign flag and owing no allegiance, except that based upon a momentary contract, to the nation they served. Foreign ships were engaged for this service because there were no Amerito investors, but also to perform a public service, and hence are subject While a generous profit honestly earned should be allowed on every dollar legitimately invested, excan ships to be had. What has produced tortion from the public should not be this situation? It is not accidental; there must be a cause for it. We are a nation of nearly a hundred million people; our domain is continental in extent; we permitted. Railroads should not be made to suffer a wrong, nor permitted to do

> but have been devout Christians for cen-turies. They are the Christian people of moment in all the Orient. I do not hesimoment in all the Orient. I do not hesitate to affirm that the average of intelligence among the Filipinos is superior to that of the people of Cuba, and equal to that of the people of Mexico and other countries to the south. The Chief Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court is a native Filipino and I was told by some of tive Filipino, and I was told by some of his American associates on the bench, and by the Governor-General of the islands, that in dignity of character and range of learning, as well as in native force and ability, he would grace the Suppose Court of the United States. The United States. we intend to hold them forever in the grasp of our stronger hand, then we ought to say so and end the agony. I need not say that for us to do that would be a crime against our own institutions, our own ideals, and all the high things we have stood for before the world. Moreover, as a mere vulgar proposition of commercial investment, it would be a costly mistake. What are we going to do? My countrymen, what we ought to do? My countrymen, what we ought to do is to fix a definite date for granting independence to the Filipinos, and then, as a part of the scheme, open negotiations with the leading powers of Europe and Asia for treaty agreements whereby the independence of the islands shall be assured by making them neutral territory, sured by making them neutral territory, not open to the occupation of any other nation, as the independence of Switzerland has long been secured in Europe. I have no kind of doubt that the leading powers, including Japan, would willingly enter into conventions of that character. Such treaties would remove all fear of encroachment from other nations after the United States had withdrawn. We cought to declare for some definite and ought to declare for some definite and humane policy of that character and promptly inaugurate the work of bringit about. But the Republican party, as now organized, is incapable of dealing with the question. Its utter failure to deal with it intelligently demonstrates its deal with it intelligently demonstrates its incapacity. If the American people want to grant to the Filipinos the boon of lib-

they wanted was a chance to or they wanted was a chance to the trush the door that all their people might rush in and have an equal voice in choosing their standard-bearers; but I submit that never in our history have we had such a gross exhibition of bossism and machine rule as the Republicans of this State have

gnats and making mountains of mole-

PHILIPPINE NEUTRALIZATION.

derless ship. True, an insular government has been established, education promoted,

sanitary conditions improved, and indus-

trial enterprises in a small way encouraged. But all that relates to current and

necessary administration. As long as we retain jurisdiction we must administer

their affairs with decency. The point I make is that the Republican party has never definitely declared an ultimate pol-

icy with respect to the islands. There is no concensus of opinion among the Re-publican leaders on the subject; on the

contrary, they seem to be hopelessly di-vided. Secretary Taft has declared that the United States should retain jurisdic-

rising generation shall be old enough to direct their destiny. He leaves the im-

pression by what he says that after that period the question of Philippine auton-

omy may be considered. Other eminent Republicans, like Senator Hale of Maine,

are anxious to sever our political connection with them as speedily as possible

tion with them as speedily as possible. The Chicago convention of last month did

not outline or foreshadow a policy for the

party. All the platform says on the sub-ject is that insurrection has been sup-pressed, law established, life and prop-erty made secure, and that education and

practical experience are advancing the

that. Upon the all-important question of the ultimate disposition of the islands,

are simply drifting. Nevertheless, the question is ever present: "What shall we do with the islands?"

I visited the Philippines in 1907. I trav-

eled over and became fairly familiar with them from personal observation. They are beautiful islands, with great natural

resources. The bulk of the population, the Filipinos, are an amiable, intelligent,

Christian people, in whose hearts burn the fires of an intense patriotism. In some of the islands there are tribes

and half-civilized. But the great majority of the natives, the Filipinos proper, are, as I have said, not only civilized,

re or less numerous, who are primitive

the di-

to victory.

What shall we do with the Philippines? Like Banquo's ghost, that question will not down. During this generation no question of profounder interest has engaged the attention of the American people. The great struggle for the Presidency in 1900 raged around that question furnished us in this halcyon year of the primary. Their first step was to have the Supreme Court declare the law unconstitutional. That was the first move they made on the primary chess-board. Failing in that, the State house crowd tended, for reasons with which the country is familiar, that independence should be granted to the Filipinos, reserving certain important privileges and rights to this country. What the Republicans stood for in that campaign has never been clearly or definitely known. About all we know is that they opposed the Democratic made ticket, covered with machine labels policy and even now no man can tell from head to foot. This is worse than and a few outlying lords assemble from head to foot. This is worse than th regard it was ever possible for the old conven-Nothing tion plan to have been, for by that plan there were at least numerous delegates assembled from every county to express the choice of their constituencies. But here under the primary system, which was established to give every man an opportunity to express his individual choice, a dozen Republican bosses plotted together and arranged the party program. The people were not even permitted to sit in the gallery as spectators, much less to have a voice in the proceedings.
Their part was simply to gulp down what
was handed them. So arrogant and omnipotent were these bosses that any man daring to cross their path took his political, and sometimes his official, life in his hand, as poor Gentry can testify. With Democrats it has been different. They made the law and are observing it, in spirit as well as letter. The field was in spirit as well as letter. The field was left open, and every man desiring to run has had an equal chance to enter. I do not know who will be nominated on the Democratic ticket, but from among the array of excellent names before the people a ticket is certain to be selected which will com-mand the public confidence. With all the candidates for Governor my relations are pleasant; indeed, I may say that with them I have long sustained relations of personal friendship. Some over-busy mis-chief-makers here and there have endeavored to identify me in a particular way with the candidacy of Mr. Cowherd. I with the candidacy of Mr. Cowherd. I have a very high regard for Mr. Cowherd's integrity, ability and force of character, but so have I also for the other candidates. I wish to say now, once for all, that I have not at any time sought to promote or to retard the candidacy of any man for the Governorship. I have had no candidate for Governor; I have not sought to get any man into capacity of the people for government,
That, however, at the best, is only a
declaration of things done. The aggregated wisdom of the Republican party,
massed in the Chicago convention, was
unable to go farther or do better than
that Unon the all important question of I have not sought to get any man into the race or out of it; I have not at-tempted to interfere for or against any the ultimate disposition of the islands, the convention was silent. I assert without fear that the Republican party is without a policy in that particular. They are simply drifting. Nevertheless, the candidate. Whether others have done it is not my province to say, but that I have studiously kept aloof from these primary contests. I appear that I have studiously kept aloof from these primary contests. mary contests I assert with the greatest confidence, and challenge any man to point to a single concrete fact to the contrary. I have many warm, personal friends supporting each of these candi-dates for Governor, and for that reason, as well as because of my relation to the men themselves, I have kept my hands out of the contest. All I wish is that every voter would weigh the merits of every condidate for every office, and in the exercise of his own good judgment vote for the nomination of the man he believes will discharge the duties of the office with the greatest dignity, ability and efficiency. When the ticket is nominated I need not say that I will do my utmost to aid in carrying the party flag

I are agreed upon certain things relat-ing to that primary. First, we are agreed that the candidate receiving the larger number of Democratic votes—that is, votes polled on the Democratic ticket in the whole State at the November elec-tion, will be the nominee of the party; secondly, we are agreed that if any votes are cast on Republican tickets for force and ability, he would grace the Supreme Court of the United States. The Attorney-General is a Filipino, and is one of the most accomplished young men I have ever met. There are several natives on the Supreme bench, and a matives on the Democratic candidate, whose name is printed on the Democratic ticket, those Republican views by the candidate on the Democratic ticket, for that would be to allow Republicans to take part in determining the issue between Democratic candidates; thirdly, we are agreed that every Democratic member of the General Assembly will be morally bound to every Democratic member of the General Assembly will be morally bound to every Democratic and dates; thirdly, we are agreed that every Democratic or the legislature should be best suited to their conditions would be best suited to their countries.

It is to be hoped that the Kentucky in the suited on the D nimity. We are holding these people, capable of establishing and administering a government of their own, and with an impatient desire for such a government, subject to our jurisdiction against their will and protest. The present status of the islands is so anomalous as to be ludicrous. They are under our authority, and yet not a definite part of our territory. We govern the people, but they do not, enjoy the privileges of American citizens. They are neither home folks nor foreigners, neither domestic nor alien; and this has been going on for nearly ten years. I am opposed to holding these years. I am opposed to holding these years. I am opposed to holding these some rights in the sight of Heaven and of honest men, and we ought to some answer to them, and we ought to some answer to them, and we ought to some answer to them, and we ought to give some answer to them, and we ought to give some answer to them, and we ought to give intended. At most, the objections to it know what we mean ourselves to do. If we intend to hold them forever in the grasp of our stronger hand, then we ought to say so and end the agony. I need to hold sample to say so and end the agony. I need to hold them forever in the grasp of our stronger hand, then we ought to say so and end the agony. I need to hold them forever in the grasp of our stronger hand, then we ought to say so and end the agony. I need to hold them forever in the grasp of our stronger hand, then we oppose to holding these to some published in St. Louis and the can the law do, since it only gives the electors of each party an opportunity to express individual preferences for Senator? It cannot very greatly concern the Republican party in any event, for I presume the machine party in any event, for I presume the machine party in any event, for I presume the machine party in any event, for I presume the machine party in any event, for I presume the machine party in any event, for I presume the machine party in any event, for I presume the machine party in any event, for I pr are technical. I believe the law to be constitutional, and in that opinion I have been confirmed by the judgment of lawyers of high repute. I expressed that opinion months ago in two public interviews, one published in St. Louis and the other in Kansas City. I declared my adherence to the law and my belief in its validity when the question of its validity was first suggested. Still, strangely, at a later period, although I was the first to speak on the subject, some marplots sought to raise a doubt as to my position. Of all things the peanut politician, who is a sort of human mosquito, is the most contemptible. I am quito, is the most contemptible. I am not only for the law, but I shall certainly do all in my power to upho Republicans persist in an effort to set it aside on narrow technical grounds, they must take the consequences before the people for that unworthy act. For myself, I am more than willing to have the Democrats of Missouri say at the polls whether they desire to continue me in the public service.

In this connection let me add, that I

A word now as to the senatorial pri-

mary and I am done. Judging by Gov-ernor Folk's public utterances, he and

be conducted by all candidates with courtesy. So far, fortunately, but little acrimony has been injected into the cam-paign. Republicans, of course, would be delighted to see a bitter, disorganizing personal strife between rival Democratic andidates, such as was carried on in entucky and more recently in Tennes-Kentucky discreet Democrats here and there are apparently disposed to do and to advise things calculated to bring about a repe-tition of the Kentucky and Tennessee experience in Missouri. For myself, I to grant to the Filipinos the boon of liberty for which they so devoutly pray, the work of developing a policy to that end must be entrusted to some other party. To have liberated these generous and gentle people from Spanish thraldom, to have helped them along for years at enormous expense, to have established schools and aided them to promote industrial development, and then finally to crown them with the high dignity of national independence, with protecting shields around them, would, all in all, constitute one of the most glorious chapters in the history of men. It would lift the American republic high up as a beacon light among the nations of the world. And now I close this subject by quoting a significant statement made by President Diaz of Mexico in March last are so enormous as to make them intolographic derable as a public burden. So far as subsidies go, it cannot be expected that the world. Still, Republicans speak of the people. As a matter of the foreign ship will hold the advantage it is their beat go, when the united by many government and the place of the people. As a matter of the people, as a matter of the foreign ship will hold the advantage in the foreign ship will hold the advantage int this platform declaration is put forth to fool the people and allay the entagons the proper and allay the entagons to monopolity of the control of the proper and allay the entagons to monopolity of the control of the proper and allay the entagons to monopolity of the proper and the theory of the proper and the theory of the proper and the time, some of them can be fooled all the time, some time and the names of the same whose owners contract to carried the time, some time and the names of the same time and the names of the same time and the names of the same time and the names of the state that the time, some time and the names of the same time and the names of the same time and the n